1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1909, II: 33–56; and Hunsen, 1935, pp. 217–21.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Puricot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
„ „ female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
„ mother, *nanen.*
„ brother, *vilyica.*
„ sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names:—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
„ mother, *Llalla.*
„ brother, *ngilyanyi.*
„ sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations:—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *cuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
● [165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization.

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians.*" The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians.* He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 83). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Mansilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing.

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r=g=d*, *n=ñ*, *t=tr=ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have [165] lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.